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Members of the Ukrainian Underground Who Live Legally

1. Although it is impossible to say how many members of the underground or what percentage of the total live legally as citizens of the Soviet Union, there are five main categories of persons who, in a manner of speaking, lead double existences. That is, they are persons who live legally and overtly but who are secretly members of the underground "reserve corps" at the same time. These categories are listed in descending order of importance to the underground, which corresponds to the number of persons found in each category:
 - a. Farmers and their sons
 - b. Workers in cities, towns, industrial areas, etc.
 - c. Exiles in Siberia
 - d. Draftees in the Soviet Army
 - e. Members of Communist organizations
2. The Ukrainian underground finds its greatest support among farmers. Since the end of the Second World War, many UPA members were instructed to return home and to legalize their existence at the first opportunity. The confusion which attended the close of the war and, later in 1946 and 1947, the mass forced evacuation of Ukrainian families from both sides of the present USSR-Polish border offered excellent opportunities for partisans to slip back into legal livelihoods without being noticed. The security and supply problems of the underground at the end of the war demanded that the total number of partisans in the woods be reduced. The systematic return of underground personnel to civilian life therefore became standard practice. Naturally, many farmers who furnished food and shelter to partisans had never gone underground. Currently most of the farmers who contribute services and supplies to the underground are not members of any of the underground's organizations in any strict sense. Since there is practically

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no rural family in the Western Ukraine which does not have a relative or close friend who is in or has been in the underground, the UPA and all other branches of the underground depend on this section of the civilian population more than any other. If the peasants were not sympathetic to the partisans, the latter could not exist.

3. Many members of the underground who lead normal, overt existences live in cities or towns or factory areas. Western Ukrainian youths are often sent to work in the Eastern Ukraine, particularly in the coal mines. These youths have spread resistance movement propaganda, formed cells, etc., in the factories. City dwellers who have contact with small government officials often render valuable services to the underground. For example, a person with a friend in a printing office can arrange to have travel authorizations or work orders made. Since all important identity documents must have official stamps and seals on them, the importance of such contacts is readily understandable.
4. Naturally, deportees in Siberia are unable to render any direct service to the underground forces in the Ukraine. They are able, however, to spread facts about the Ukrainian struggle for liberation among the other exiled nationalities. They strive to raise the morale of the other exiles and to organize anti-Communist cells. Thus, Ukrainian nationalists have organized anti-Communist sentiment in all areas where they have found themselves.
5. Consonant with the UPA program of keeping the bulk of its potential members out of the woods, many youths are encouraged to join the Soviet Army when their age group is called up. By this means the UPA gives its candidates or members two years military training and often a specialist's skill. In addition, the UPA is able thus to keep abreast of the latest Soviet Army methods and equipment. Soldiers of the Soviet Army tend to be friendly towards members of the Ukrainian underground and vice versa. There is here a bond of sympathy between the downtrodden. The Soviet Army units which serve in the Ukraine spread by word of mouth accounts of UPA exploits when they are stationed outside the Ukraine. The young Ukrainian draftees create cells of resistance within the army by organizing the malcontents among their comrades, helping to kindle hatred against political officers in each unit, etc. In this manner the Ukrainian underground movement has made the Soviet Army into one of its greatest indirect allies.
6. The last category comprising underground members who hide their true motivation and lead double lives, overtly as ardent Communists and covertly as equally ardent Ukrainian nationalists, is by far the smallest group. Through past experience the underground has come to view long-range penetration and sleeper operations with disfavor. In earlier years the underground did try to slip persons into the MVD, Communist Party, etc., but it was found that the results of such operations were negligible in terms of information, costly in terms of personnel, and almost always a waste of time. The kidnapping and interrogation of an MVD officer, Communist Party official, etc., of medium to high level rating was always an operation more suited to the talents of the underground and a more expedient way of collecting information. The leaders of the underground also feel that a man with enough talent to rise in the Soviet hierarchy into a position of major trust can better be employed in the underground itself. Since the higher one climbs in Soviet officialdom, the more minutely one's past is scrutinized, the underground fears that the background of their man would disqualify him for high office. The anti-partisan units of the MVD and the MGB are naturally the prime military and intelligence targets of the underground, but usually Ukrainians are not found in such units. The underground receives information on most phases of life within the Ukraine from its own members, but information on inner workings of Soviet organizations is easier to obtain by abduction and interrogation than by mounting long-range penetration operations.